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ABSTRACT

Career counseling and upward mobility for Blacks and other minorities in many cases is a myth. Among the major issues and concerns of the professional in this field is still racism in its subtle forms. The slogan of equality is plagued by the long years of injustices, and many Afro-Americans even today feel very little sympathy for Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others. This psychological attitude prevents the career progression of minorities in our democratic society. Factors presenting problems in counseling Blacks (adults/young adults) and other minorities are personal problems, inadequate education, job discrimination, and low motivation and aspirations. For many minorities, the system during the past 10 years has failed them with "Great Society programs" and the "War on Poverty," the end result being frustration, bitterness, and despair. From 1970 to the present, many programs designed for upward mobilizing minorities have yet to reach their objectives. Still further, Civil Rights laws of the 1960's and early 1970's are failing to make a major impact on the aforementioned conditions. As it stands now, considering the fiscal and economic state of the nation, minorities, regardless of education and training, will remain in job disarray, frustration, and discord until there is another domestic priority by local, state, and national officials. Admittedly, progress has been made for a few in the minority groups; but for the masses, "Sorry, Road Closed." (Author)

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THE PLIGHT OF CAREER COUNSELING FOR
BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES:
ISSUES AND CONCERNS

AN ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PERSONNEL
AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
APRIL 11-15, 1976

BY
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FOREWARD

This document is addressed to a professional audience of career counselors, practitioners and researchers who have a compassionate concern about the serious multiple mobility problems confronting Blacks and other minorities in our ever changing society. Social workers, employee development specialists, educators, medical personnel, as well as investigators in the social and behavioral sciences will find historical data and contemporary information pertinent to their field of work, as they seek a better knowledge of problems related to career mobility for minorities.

Retrogressing into the past, this publication attempts to highlight the problems of career mobility and race relations in America by offering positive recommendations derived from the research summation and analysis of scholars in the social science field.

A number of my co-workers in the counseling profession as well as staff members provided input to this document. Special acknowledgment is made to Robert S. Philleo, Assistant Director for Training, DPM, National Institutes of Health for his critical review of the final draft, and to Bill Maughlin for his typing and editorial assistance.

Finally, the identification, evaluation, and translation of relevant research in many discrete forms, have been brought together skillfully by the writer. Needless to say, I alone am accountable for whatever shortcoming the document might have.

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THE PLIGHT OF CAREER COUNSELING FOR BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES: ISSUES AND CONCERNS

"We still have a long way to go. The strides that have been made in terms of individual accomplishments and employment opportunities and other areas have applied mainly to middle-class Negroes. The lot of the masses of Negroes remains about the same. Until we can improve the lot of the masses of Negroes we must recognize that the problem is far from being solved."

Dr. Martin L. King, 1964

I. INTRODUCTION

A COMMON PHRASE OFTEN CITED IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IS, "WE NEVER GOT OUR FORTY ACRES AND A MULE." THIS JUSTIFICATION, THOUGH IT MAY BE USED BY SOME AS A MEANS OF DESCRIBING CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS BLACK AMERICANS FIND THEMSELVES IN, IS ONLY A PART OF THE OMITTED COMPENSATIONS BLACK AMERICANS HAVE NOT RECEIVED FOR YEARS OF ENSLAVEMENT, SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY. IN TERMS OF CORRECTING THESE AND OTHER INJUSTICES, SOME QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED. WHAT HAPPENED TO:

- the 13th Amendment establishing the Freedmen's Bureau?
- the 1866 Civil Rights Bill - An "Act to protect all persons in the United States in their Civil Rights and furnish the means of their vindication?"
- the 1868 14th Amendment establishing the concept of equal protection for all citizens?

- the 1870 15th Amendment guaranteeing to all citizens the right to vote?
- the 1875 Civil Rights Bill prohibiting discrimination in such public accommodations as parks, theaters, schools, etc., and subsequently declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1883?
- the 1896 Supreme Court Plessy vs. Ferguson decision upholding the "Separate but Equal" doctrine paving the way for segregation?
- the President's Civil Rights Program (1946-1948) establishing Executive order 9808 Committee on Civil Rights?
- the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregated schools unconstitutional?
- the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first Civil Rights legislation in the USA since 1875 establishing the Civil Rights Commission for voter rights protection?
- the Civil Rights Act of 1964 designed to insure maximum rights for Black Americans in as many areas of public life as possible: Voting, public accommodations, education, and employment?
- the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which provided for the assignment of federal examiners to conduct voter registration in states where such patterns of discrimination existed?
- the Civil Rights Act of 1968 providing the opportunity for "Open Housing" in city, suburban and rural areas of America?
- the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 preventing unlawful employment practices?

A REVIEW OF THE AFOREMENTIONED LEGISLATION FROM THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD TO THE PRESENT INDICATES THAT BLACKS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE MOST OPPRESSED CITIZENS IN AMERICA, DESPITE THE MULTITUDE OF LAWS ENACTED

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BY THE U.S. CONGRESS. THEY HAVE BEEN POORLY ENFORCED AND EVEN MORE SERIOUSLY, THE SUPREME COURT STRUCK DOWN MOST OF THE IMPORTANT PROVISIONS IN THE 1875 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. WE HAVE YET TO RECEIVE THE "40 ACRES AND A MULE OR TOTAL JUSTICE BY LAW."

DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ENACTED NO NEW LEGISLATION TO INSURE THE EQUAL RIGHTS OR OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK AMERICANS AND MADE FEW ATTEMPTS TO ENFORCE EXISTING LAWS DESPITE FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF BLACKS' CIVIL RIGHTS. SOME NORTHERN STATES ENACTED CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS IN THE 1880'S, BUT BLACK AMERICANS IN FACT WERE TREATED LITTLE DIFFERENTLY IN THE NORTH THAN IN THE SOUTH. AS BLACKS MOVED NORTH IN SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS TOWARD THE END OF THE CENTURY, THEY DISCOVERED THAT EQUALITY OF TREATMENT WAS ONLY A DREAM IN MASSACHUSETTS, NEW YORK OR ILLINOIS. THEY WERE CROWDED BY LOCAL ORDINANCES INTO ONE SECTION OF MOST CITIES, WHERE HOUSING AND PUBLIC SERVICES WERE GENERALLY SUBSTANDARD. OVERT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT WAS THE GENERAL PRACTICE. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES APART FROM MENIAL TASKS WERE FEW. MOST LABOR UNIONS EITHER EXCLUDED AFRO-AMERICANS FROM MEMBERSHIP OR GRANTED MEMBERSHIP IN SEPARATE AND POWERLESS JIM CROW LOCALS. YET WHEN BLACKS SECURED EMPLOYMENT DURING STRIKES, LABOR LEADERS CASTIGATED THEM FOR NOT UNDERSTANDING THE PRINCIPLES OF TRADE UNIONISM.

NORTHERN WHITES WASTED NO TIME IN KEEPING BLACKS IN THEIR PLACE. ANTI-BLACK RIOTS WERE MADE IN NEW YORK, 1900; SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, 1904; GREENSBURG, INDIANA, 1906; AND SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, 1908. IN THESE STATES BLACKS WERE LYNCHED, BEATEN, AND AS MANY AS SIX PEOPLE WERE

KILLED BEFORE THE NATIONAL GUARD COULD RESTORE ORDER.

FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS LATER (1908-1965) BLACK FRUSTRATIONS AND DESPAIR WOULD REACH A CLIMAX AGAIN IN THE WATTS-LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA EXPLOSION. A STUDY OF 75 DISTURBANCES IN 67 CITIES DURING THE EARLY AND MIDDLE 1960'S REVEALED 83 DEATHS AND 1,897 INJURIES. TWO CITIES WITH SUBSTANTIAL DAMAGE TO PROPERTY WERE NEWARK AND DETROIT TOTALING \$200 - \$500 MILLION. THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON ASKS IN A 700 PAGE REPORT: WHAT HAPPENED? WHY DID IT HAPPEN? WHAT CAN BE DONE TO PREVENT IT FROM HAPPENING AGAIN? ONE YEAR LATER THE COMMISSION SAID: "WHITE RACISM IS ESSENTIALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FOR THE EXPLOSIVE MIXTURE WHICH HAS BEEN ACCUMULATING IN OUR CITIES SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II."¹

AT THE BASE OF THIS PROBLEM IS THE BITTER FRUIT OF THE WHITE RACIAL ATTITUDES SUCH AS:

Pervasive discrimination and segregation...
Continuing exclusion of great numbers of
Blacks from the benefits of economic progress
through discrimination in employment and
education, and their enforced confinement
in segregated housing and schools...are the
source of the deepest bitterness and at the
center of the problem of Civil disorders...
Frustrated hopes...Aroused by the great
judicial and legislative victories of the
Civil Rights movement have led to frustration,
hostility and cynicism in the face of the
persistent gap between promise and ful-
fillment.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT IS TO ASCERTAIN THE PLIGHT OF CAREER COUNSELING FOR BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN LIGHT OF PAST AND PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. IN 1976 IT IS MOST DIFFICULT TO FIND ANYONE WHO DENIES

THE ENDEMIC PROPORTIONS OF RACISM IN AMERICA. WHILE THIS NATION WITH HAPPY-GO-LUCKY ATTITUDES ADMIRES PROGRAMS LIKE ARCHIE BUNKER, THE SPREAD OF RACISM ENVELOPES US BY AMAZING DIMENSIONS. THEREFORE, IT BECOMES ESSENTIAL THAT BLACKS WHO SERVE AS ROLE MODELS FOR OUR YOUTHS AND YOUNG ADULTS, ACQUIRE AN ADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE OF THE NEW CONCEPTS OF WHITE RACISM TO ENABLE THEM TO INTERPRET AND DESIGN NEEDED STRATEGIES FOR OUR YOUTHS. AS COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGIST, GUIDANCE COUNSELORS, SOCIAL WORKERS, ETC., WE MUST ANALYZE IN GREAT DEPTH RACIAL-PHOBIA AS AN ILLNESS AND RECOGNIZE ITS PATHOLOGY.

STILL FURTHER, IT IS A NATIONAL TRAGEDY WHEN THE VICTIMS OF WHITE RACISM HAPPEN TO BE CHILDREN WHO BY VIRTUE OF THEIR COLOR, LACK OF MATURITY AND POWER ARE UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE DYNAMICS OF THIS DISEASE. SO IT IS WITHIN THESE PARAMETERS THAT THIS PAPER DISCUSSES SOME ELEMENTS OF RACISM AND BRIEFLY SKETCHES ESSENTIAL SURVIVAL TECHNIQUES.

STILL FURTHER, THIS PAPER CONCENTRATES ON SPECIAL PROGRAMS SPONSORED BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES DESIGNED TO UPWARD MOBILIZE BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES. THE ROLE OF CAREER COUNSELOR IS EXPLORED FROM A MINORITY PERSPECTIVE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LATEST RESEARCH IN THIS AREA. FINALLY, AN ANALYSIS IS PROVIDED ON THE CONCEPT OF NEWLY DEVELOPED UPWARD MOBILITY PROGRAMS; THEIR PURPOSE; IMPORTANCE TO MINORITIES; CURRENT STATUS; AND WHAT THE ROLE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES SHOULD BE IN MAINTAINING SUCH PROGRAMS.

II. BACKGROUND

THE EVENTS OF THE 1960'S AND THE THOUSANDS OF BLACK LIVES LOST IN THE HISTORICAL STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY, INCLUDING THE

SAD ASSASSINATION OF DR. MARTIN L. KING, JR., ARE A CULMINATION OF 300 YEARS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE. THE FALSE MIGRATION OF AFRO-AMERICANS TO THE UNITED STATES HAVE PROVEN TO BE A BITTER EXPERIENCE FOR WHITE AMERICANS. AMERICANS BOTH BLACK AND WHITE, THANKS TO "MISEUCATION" KNOW LITTLE ABOUT THE ORIGINS OF THE RACIAL SCHISM SEPARATING OUR WHITE AND BLACK CITIZENS. AND ONLY A FEW APPRECIATE HOW CENTRAL THE PROBLEM OF THE BLACK AMERICAN HAS BEEN TO OUR SOCIAL POLICY. THE KERNER REPORT SAID:

Few still understand that today's problem can only be solved if White Americans comprehend the rigid social, economic, and educational barriers that have prevented Blacks from participating in the mainstream of American life. Only a handful realize that Negro accommodation to the patterns of prejudice in American culture has been but one side of the coin--for as slaves and as free men, Negroes have protested against oppression and have persistently sought equality in American Society.

AS A RESULT OF THE LONG YEARS OF OPPRESSION, AMERICA EVEN TODAY IS A DIVIDED SOCIETY WITH OVERT RACISM IN MANY AREAS BEING ALMOST UNCONTROLLABLE. EVERY INSTITUTION, FROM THE CHURCH TO THE SCHOOL, IS AFFECTED BY OUR PAST. AND MORE SERIOUSLY, VERY LITTLE FROM A HUMANISTIC POINT OF VIEW IS BEING DONE TO CORRECT THE SITUATION.

THE MARK OF OPPRESSION HAS LEFT ITS CURSE ON THE AMERICAN BLACK COMMUNITY, AND TODAY THE TOTAL SOCIETY PAYS A HEAVY PRICE FOR FIGHTING RACISM. CONSIDER THE VIEWS OF KARDINER AND OVESEY. "THE SUFFERING OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE CANNOT TAKE PLACE WITHIN A SOCIETY WITHOUT IMPAIRING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WHOLE."⁴

IN COLONIAL AMERICA THE FIRST AFRICANS ARRIVED ACCORDING TO SOME HISTORIANS AT JAMESTOWN, AROUND AUGUST 1619. AFTER 40 YEARS OF INDENTURED SERVITUDE THEY WERE MADE SLAVES BY LAW, TREATED AS SERVANTS FOR LIFE, DEPRIVED OF THEIR AFRICAN HERITAGE AND TRADITIONS, AND DISPERSED AMONG SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS, WHERE THEY LOST THEIR ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS FAMILY TIES.

THIS BEING THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR OF OUR NATION, IT IS A SAD ACCOUNT TO NOTE THAT MOST AMERICAN POLITICIANS 200 YEARS AGO DISAPPROVED A PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THAT INDICTED THE KING OF ENGLAND FOR WAGING CRUEL WAR AGAINST HUMAN NATURE ITSELF, VIOLATING ITS MOST SACRED RIGHTS OF LIFE AND LIBERTY IN THE PERSONS OF DISTANT PEOPLE WHO NEVER OFFENDED HIM, CAPTIVATING AND CARRYING THEM INTO SLAVERY IN ANOTHER HEMISPHERE, OR TO INCUR MISERABLE DEATH IN THEIR TRANSPORTATION THITHER. INSTEAD, THEY APPROVED A DOCUMENT THAT PROCLAIMED ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL. 200 YEARS LATER THIS IS NOT A REALITY.

FINALLY, HUBERT HUMPHREY, FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE USA, POINTS OUT THAT:

Millions of individuals have been denied opportunity to develop themselves and their lives have been stunted by our terrible national history of slavery, segregation, and discrimination. White Americans by and large still do not fully admit this—but it is true.

THE "ISSUE OF BLACK SURVIVAL IN AMERICA"⁶ IS PREDICATED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ON THE EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR YOUTH. HUMPHREY

CONTINUES:

We seek full education for every child first of all because we affirm the worth of the child; we seek to overthrow the barriers of race not only to make our country stronger and richer--which it will-- but because those barriers are unjust; we seek a society where human developments come first not only because our citizens are a "resource", like coal or oil, but because human development is what America is, or should be, all about.⁷

III. RACISM AND ITS SUBTLE FORMS: A BARRIER TO CAREER MOBILITY

WHETHER BLACKS HAVE A PLACE IN THE U.S. SOCIETY IS A CHOICE THAT BELONGS TO THE NATION. THAT CHOICE WAS AUDACIOUSLY CALLED TO THE ATTENTION OF WHITE AMERICA EARLY IN THE 1960's, WHEN FOUR BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS SAT DOWN AT A NORTH CAROLINA LUNCH COUNTER RESERVED FOR WHITES. FOR TEN YEARS THE NATION DISGUSTINGLY GRAPPLED WITH ITS CHOICE: FREEDOM OR DEATH FOR AFRO-AMERICANS. BY THE END OF THE DECADE, BLACKS WERE FORCED TO FACE THE EVIDENCE HEAPED PAINFULLY UPON THEM. THE EVIDENCE SHOWED THAT A CHOICE HAD BEEN MADE, AND FREEDOM WAS DENIED.⁸

IT IS TRUE THAT THERE EXISTED MANY EXAMPLES OF PROGRESS, SUCH AS BLACK APPOINTEES TO HIGH OFFICE AND NEW PROGRAMS (GREAT SOCIETY) DESIGNED TO UPLIFT THE MASSES. HOWEVER, THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW DECADE (1970) SAW THE EROSION OF HARD WON GAINS OF THE 1960's. TODAY BLACK AMERICANS ARE ASKING LOCAL, STATE, AND FEDERAL OFFICIALS, WHAT IS THE DOMESTIC PRIORITY FOR BLACK AMERICANS? THERE HAVE BEEN

SOME LEGISLATIVE AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN OUR SOCIETY. BUT WHERE IT COUNTS, ECONOMICALLY AND EDUCATIONALLY, THE CONDITIONS ARE BASICALLY THE SAME AS THE PAST DECADE. AMERICA HAS YET TO MOVE BEYOND RACISM. THE LATE WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR. FURTHER EXPLAINS:

We now see that laws are not enough. The test of racism today is whether White America is willing to give up some of its power and privilege and allow Black people their rightful share of responsibility of power...Our Public Offices, businesses, unions, churches, and other institutions are almost as closed to Black people as they ever were, and the voices raised against this racism are few and feeble.⁹

A. INSTITUTIONAL STANDARDS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

ALL INSTITUTIONS OPERATE WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF STANDARDS THAT ARE INTENDED TO PRESERVE MAXIMUM LEVELS OF EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTION. A FACTORY THAT PRODUCES AN ITEM SUCH AS A CAR HAS STANDARDS THAT MUST BE MET BY EACH CAR ASSEMBLED. SIMILARLY, A SERVICE ORGANIZATION SUCH AS A HOSPITAL HAS A LEVEL OF PATIENT CARE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION FEELS IT MUST MAINTAIN AS PART OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO THOSE IT SERVES.

IN ORDER TO MEET ACHIEVEMENT STANDARDS, INSTITUTIONS SEEK TO HIRE THOSE PEOPLE WHO WILL DO THE BEST JOB AND WHO WILL FIT EASILY INTO THE INSTITUTION. THIS MEANS THAT THERE MUST EXIST ANOTHER SET OF STANDARDS BY WHICH TO MEASURE THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THOSE WHO SEEK CAREERS IN THE INSTITUTION. THESE STANDARDS TAKE THE FORM OF QUALIFYING EXAMINATIONS, PERSONAL INTERVIEWS, AND REQUIRED TRAINING OR EXPERIENCE.

MOST ADMINISTRATORS IN BUSINESS, CIVIL SERVICE, UNIVERSITIES AND SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS HAVE STATED EXPLICITLY THAT A MAN'S RACE IS NOT ONE OF THE STANDARDS BY WHICH HIS ACCEPTABILITY IS MEASURED. THE BUSINESSMAN EXPLAINS THAT NOT ONLY DOES HE BELIEVE IT TO BE IMMORAL TO PRACTICE DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING, BUT IT WOULD ALSO HURT THE COMPANY TO TURN DOWN NEEDED TALENT ON THE BASIS OF RACE. USING THIS POLICY, KNOWN AS EQUAL OPPORTUNITY HIRING, INSTITUTIONS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO KEEP THEIR OWN ACHIEVEMENT STANDARDS INTACT WHILE SERVING THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE.

THE PHRASE "EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER" HAS BECOME COMMONPLACE IN MOST BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS. YET AN EXAMINATION OF CURRENT RACIAL REPRESENTATION IN VIRTUALLY ANY AMERICAN INSTITUTION DEMONSTRATES THAT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES HAVE NOT LED TO SIGNIFICANT INCREASES IN BLACK PARTICIPATION. THE BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT RATE REMAINS DOUBLE TO THOSE OF WHITES; WITHIN THE LABOR FORCE, BLACK PEOPLE ARE FOR THE MOST PART STILL DOING MENIAL WORK.¹⁰

THE REASON FOR THE FAILURE OF THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY IS AT ONCE CLEAR IF CONDITIONS OF POOR "GHETTO" SCHOOLS, LACK OF SKILLED TRAINING AND UNION DISCRIMINATION ARE COMPARED WITH THE ACCEPTANCE STANDARDS OF BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT, AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS. ALTHOUGH IT IS TRUE THAT A QUALIFIED LATHE OPERATOR, PLUMBER, OR ENGINEER, BE HE BLACK OR WHITE, CAN COMPETE FOR ANY JOB OPENING, THE NUMBER OF BLACK PEOPLE IN THESE PROFESSIONS HAS NOT INCREASED. THERE ARE FEW LATHE OPERATOR TRAINING CENTERS SERVING THE "GHETTO;" PLUMBERS' UNIONS ACCEPT FEW IF ANY BLACK APPRENTICES; "GHETTO" SCHOOLS TURN OUT A

TRAGICALLY SMALL NUMBER OF STUDENTS PREPARED FOR A COLLEGE PROGRAM IN ENGINEERING.

IT IS MEANINGLESS FOR AN EMPLOYER TO SAY THAT IF A BLACK MAN WITH A PH.D. IN ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING WALKS IN THE DOOR OF A TECHNICAL FIRM HE WILL BE TREATED IN THE SAME MANNER AS A WHITE MAN WITH THE SAME EDUCATION. THERE IS A LONG, UNFORTUNATE, BUT WELL-KNOWN HISTORY TO THE FACT THAT BLACK MEN WITH PH.D.'S IN ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING DO NOT JUST "WALK IN THE DOOR;" FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, FEW SUCH MEN EXIST. WHAT MUST BE DONE?

IF INSTITUTIONS LIMIT THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO OPENING THEIR DOORS TO ALL QUALIFIED COMERS, THE SUBORDINATE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE BLACK POPULATION WILL BE PERPETUATED INDEFINITELY EVEN IF ALL OVERT DISCRIMINATION IN ACCEPTANCE STANDARDS IS WIPED OUT. TO BREAK THE VICIOUS CIRCLE IN WHICH BLACK AMERICANS ARE CAUGHT, INSTITUTIONS MUST DEVELOP ACTIVE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS IN THE MINORITY COMMUNITIES; THEY MUST EMPLOY BLACK PERSONNEL AGENTS WHO WILL BE ABLE TO RECOGNIZE UNDEVELOPED TALENT WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY; THEY MUST SCRUTINIZE THEIR ACCEPTANCE STANDARDS FOR TRACES OF MIDDLE CLASS BIAS.

SUCH PROGRAMS WILL BE COSTLY, AND THEY WILL NEVER COME INTO BEING IF MANAGEMENT CONTINUES TO MEASURE SUCCESS BY STANDARDS THAT ARE TOO NARROW. THERE MUST BE A RE-ORDERING OF PRIORITIES THAT WILL ALLOW ADMINISTRATORS TO ACCEPT A DIP IN PROFITS OR A REDUCTION IN EFFICIENCY AS THE PRICE FOR LONG TERM SOCIAL GAINS. BUSINESSMEN WHO THINK PRIMARILY IN TERMS OF FURTHERING THE ENDS OF THE CORPORATION ITSELF MUST REALIZE THAT THEIR FIRST RESPONSIBILITY IS NOT TO THE STOCKHOLDERS

OR EVEN TO THE CONSUMER BUT TO THE ENTIRE SOCIETY. IN THE LONG RUN, AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS WILL BENEFIT FROM AN EXPANDED LABOR FORCE THAT IS TRAINED FOR THE OCCUPATIONS OF A TECHNICAL SOCIETY. IN A LARGER SENSE, THE ECONOMIC ENFRANCHISEMENT OF BLACK CITIZENS IS A STEP TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM, A GOAL IN WHICH THE ENTIRE COUNTRY HAS A VITAL INTEREST.

B. RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

THE LONG YEARS OF SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, AND UNIVERSITIES REPRESENT THE FORMAL ACTION FOR THE LOW STATUS OF BLACK JOBS. AND FURTHERMORE, RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION HAVE DONE THEIR SHARE TO PERPETUATE RACIAL INEQUITIES IN SOCIETY BY TRAPPING BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN POVERTY.

HOWEVER, DISCRIMINATION STANDS OUT OVER EDUCATION AS THE MAJOR REASON FOR THE LACK OF BLACK UPWARD MOBILITY. SEVERAL STUDIES COMMISSIONED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOUND THAT OVERT AND COVERT DISCRIMINATION, NOT EDUCATION OR TRAINING, WAS THE MAJOR REASON FOR THE LOW INCOME STATUS OF BLACKS. THE LOWER EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SOME MINORITY GROUPS IS A FACTOR IN THEIR LOWER OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BUT STATISTICAL ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT IT ACCOUNTS FOR ONLY ABOUT ONE THIRD OF THE DIFFERENCE IN OCCUPATIONAL RANKING BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE MALES.¹¹

OTHER STUDIES HAVE SHOWN THAT A WHITE DROP-OUT EARNS MORE THAN A NON-WHITE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE. IN 1970, THE MEDIUM INCOME FOR A BLACK COLLEGE GRADUATE WAS \$5,020; THIS IS \$110 LESS THAN THE EARNINGS OF A WHITE MALE HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUT.

A WHITE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE MAY EXPECT TO EARN \$253,000 DURING A

LIFETIME, WHILE A NON-WHITE WITH FOUR OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE MAY EXPECT TO EARN ONLY \$246,000.¹²

TODAY, ACCORDING TO THE NAMCP,¹³ BLACKS CONSTITUTE BETWEEN 11 AND 12 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION. BUT THEY REPRESENT ONLY SIX PER CENT OF THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT. THIS PATTERN OF LOW PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION HAS CRIPPLED THE DEVELOPMENT OF TALENTS AND SKILLS NEEDED SO DESPERATELY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

FOR EXAMPLE, IT HAS BEEN REVEALED THAT THE GREATEST KILLER OF BLACK AMERICANS IS HYPERTENSION, COMMONLY KNOWN AS HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE. BUT THE AVAILABLE SUPPLY OF BLACK DOCTORS WHO CAN TREAT THIS DISEASE AND MANY OTHERS REMAINS VERY LOW. A 1970 REPORT BY THE CARNEGIE COMMISSION SHOWED THAT ONLY TWO PER CENT, OR 6,000 OF THE 335,000 PHYSICIANS IN THE COUNTRY, ARE BLACK.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IS ANOTHER CRITICAL NEED AND CONCERN OF BLACK AMERICA. REPORTEDLY MORE THAN 80 PER CENT OF THE INMATES IN OUR PRISONS ARE BLACK WHILE, ACCORDING TO THE BLACK LAWYERS ASSOCIATION, ONLY 3,800 OF THE 300,000 ATTORNEYS ARE BLACK. IN OTHER WORDS, WHILE THERE IS ONE WHITE LAWYER FOR EVERY 750 WHITE AMERICANS, THERE IS ONLY ONE BLACK LAWYER FOR EVERY 5,000 BLACK AMERICANS. IF BLACK AMERICA IS TO INSURE AND PROTECT ITS LEGAL RIGHTS, THEN BLACK LAWYERS HAVE TO BE TRAINED AND EDUCATED TO DO JUST THAT.

IN THE ENGINEERING FIELD, THERE ARE MANY OPPORTUNITIES AND DEMANDS FOR PERSONS WHO ARE TRAINED TO PLAN, CONSTRUCT, AND MANAGE ECONOMIC STRUCTURES, EQUIPMENT, AND SYSTEMS. THEY PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS COUNTRY. THE LACK OF BLACK INVOLVEMENT

AND INFLUENCE IN THIS AREA IS ALSO REFLECTED BY A LOW SUPPLY OF BLACK ENGINEERING GRADUATES.

OF THE 43,000 RECEIVING ENGINEERING DEGREES IN 1971, ONLY 407 WERE BLACK. UNLESS THIS NUMBER IS GREATLY INCREASED, BLACK AMERICANS WILL BE LEFT SITTING ALONG THE SIDELINE WAITING TO FOLLOW ORDERS INSTEAD OF DEVELOPING THEM.

THIS LAGGING BEHIND, WHICH IS APPARENT IN SO MANY OTHER OCCUPATIONAL AREAS, CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE BECAUSE IT POSES A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE FUTURE OF BLACK AMERICA. BLACKS MUST BE PREPARED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES. THEY MUST BE EQUIPPED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THEIR COMMUNITIES AND NATION OR RISK THE POSSIBILITY OF FALLING FURTHER BEHIND THE REST OF THE POPULATION, EVEN TO THE POINT OF JUST LOSING OUT ALTOGETHER.

THIS OVERALL PICTURE OF SUBHUMAN DEGRADATION MAKES ONE THINK OF A MACHINE THAT MASS PRODUCES DEFECTIVE PARTS WHICH CAN NEVER FIT INTO THE FINE MACHINERY OF SOCIETY. THE LONGER WHITES, AS A PART OF A NATION, ARE RACIALLY MOTIVATED, THE LONGER AMERICAN PROSPERITY SUFFERS. CONFRONTED WITH THESE DILEMMAS, CAN WE EVER BECOME THE "GREAT SOCIETY" WITHOUT MAKING A CONCERTED EFFORT TO WIPE OUT RACISM?

IV. AN ANALOGY OF TWO OTHER MINORITIES: PUERTO RICANS AND NATIVE AMERICANS (INDIANS)

EXCEPT FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN, THERE IS PERHAPS NO MINORITY GROUP AS DEPRESSED AS CITIZENS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN ANCESTRY, ESPECIALLY THE PUERTO RICANS. GENERALLY, THE ROOT CAUSE IS NOT SO MUCH ONE OF ACTIVE OPPRESSION, BUT MORE OF NEGLECT AND INDIFFERENCE. SINCE THE

MAJORITY OF PUERTO RICANS IN THE UNITED STATES LIVE IN NEW YORK CITY, IT IS FITTING TO DEAL WITH THAT AREA IN DISCUSSING THE GROUP.¹⁴

PUERTO RICANS ARE QUASI-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES AND HAVE A STRONG AVERSION TO BEING IDENTIFIED WITH MEMBERS OF OTHER LATIN-AMERICAN GROUPS, E.G. MEXICAN-AMERICAN OR CHICANOS; THE LATTER FEEL THE SAME WAY.¹⁵

LIKE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, THE PUERTO RICANS CAME TO THE UNITED STATES IN A MASS MIGRATION, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE BLACKS WERE MORE IMPORTS THAN IMMIGRANTS. IN 1910, THERE WERE ONLY 500 PERSONS OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH IN NEW YORK CITY; BY 1961 THERE WAS AN ESTIMATED 720,000 MULTIPLYING WITH A BIRTH RATE OF 40 PER THOUSAND COMPARED WITH A WHITE BIRTH RATE OF 20 PER THOUSAND.¹⁶

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM SEEMS TO BE THAT THE WEST INDIAN ISLAND FROM WHICH THEY ORIGINATE HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO SO MANY RULING FORCES AND CULTURES THAT ITS PEOPLE ARE CONFUSED AND BEMILDERED.¹⁷

PUERTO RICANS HAVE A HISTORY OF CULTURE, RELIGION, ART, AND CUSTOMS THAT GIVES STRENGTH AND GRACE AND MEANING TO A LIFE OF HARDSHIP; AND THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG FAMILY SYSTEM COMPENSATES SOMEWHAT FOR THE ALIENATION FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE. WHY, THEN, DOES THE PUERTO RICAN FAIL TO ADVANCE? PART OF THE ANSWER LIES IN THE FOLLOWING:

A rich culture and a strong family system, in addition to their immediate rewards, are often the basis for an improvement in life. The net of culture keeps up pride and encourages effort; the strong family serves to organize and channel resources in new situations. In both these aspects, Puerto Rico

is sadly defective; it is weak in folk arts, unsure in its cultural traditions, without a powerful faith...Its large African population of former slaves, almost one half of the total population in the 1860's, has not retained the rich array of African cultural survivals that enlivened other parts of the Caribbean...Nor is there much strength in the Puerto Rican family. In some ways it is similar to the family type of peasant patriarchal and authoritarian, the male reigning as the absolute despot, demanding obedience and respect from wife and children. The major difference is the wide extent of consensual or common law marriage, sexual adventurism on the part of the men, which means that children often grow up in confused family settings.¹⁸

IT IS PERHAPS THE TRANSFER OF THIS TRADITION TO THE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT CULTURE OF NEW YORK CITY, PLUS THE LACK OF COORDINATED, COHESIVE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP, THAT MITIGATES AGAINST THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.¹⁹

THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT BETWEEN BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK, BORN OF THE FACT THAT BOTH ARE LOW ON THE ECONOMIC SCALE AND ARE THEREFORE IN COMPETITION FOR THE CRUMBS WHICH COME THEIR WAY-- BOTH ARE HUNGRY. THE PUERTO RICAN, IF WHITE OR ONLY SLIGHTLY COLORED, DEEPLY RESENTS ANY CLASSIFICATION WITH BLACKS. HE WANTS TO AVOID THE STIGMA OF COLOR WHICH IS THE BLACK MAN'S LOT. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THERE IS ALSO A STRAINED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACKS AND JEWS, BUT FOR ONE DIFFERENT REASON: BLACKS FEEL THAT JEWS, WHO OWN THE VAST BUSINESS ENTERPRISES, HAVE NOT KEPT THE FAITH WITH AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE.²⁰

THERE IS, HOWEVER, A MOBILE ELEMENT IN THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY.

THE LATEST AVAILABLE FIGURES SHOW THAT IN NEW YORK CITY THERE IS A SLIGHTLY HIGHER NUMBER OF PUERTO RICANS IN THE CATEGORY OF MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRIETORS THAN THERE ARE BLACKS, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE MORE BLACK PROFESSIONALS. YET THE AVERAGE PUERTO RICAN, IF THERE IS ANY SUCH CREATURE, LIVES IN MISERY. THE PUERTO RICAN MEDIAN FAMILY IS LOW; UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE GROUP IS CONSISTENTLY HIGHER THAN AMONG OTHER NON-WHITES; AND THE HIGH BIRTH RATE DOES LITTLE TO HELP THE SITUATION.²¹

ANTHROPOLOGISTS PUZZLE OVER THE PUERTO RICAN STATE OF AFFAIRS; THE FACT THAT THEY ARE OF MIXED HERITAGE MEANS THAT THEY CONSTITUTE AN AMALGAMATION OF ALL RACIAL STRAINS--THERE ARE WHITE PUERTO RICANS, BLACK PUERTO RICANS, AND ALL SHADES IN BETWEEN. YET, IN THE AMERICAN SOCIETY, THEY UNDERSTAND THAT COLOR DOES HAVE WEIGHT ON THE OVERALL SCALE. THEREFORE, THEY PERFORM A TIGHTROPE ACT, TORN BETWEEN THE NEED TO MAINTAIN TIES WITH THEIR CULTURE AND FACING THE HARD FACT THAT ANYTHING LESS THAN A PURE EUROPEAN OR ANGLO-SAXON INDIVIDUAL FACES A MAZE OF DIFFICULTIES.²²

THE ENTIRE STORY OF PUERTO RICO COULD BE TOLD THROUGH AN ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES. INDEED, HERE IS THE END RESULT OF MOTIVATION THAT BEGAN ON THE ISLAND AND THOSE MOTIVATIONS IN TURN WERE THE RESULT OF ALL THE FORCES THAT HAVE MADE PUERTO RICO WHAT IT IS TODAY. THEREFORE, ANY COMMUNITY OF PUERTO RICO IN THE UNITED STATES (NEW YORK, CHICAGO, MIAMI) IS A MICROCOSM OF THE ISLAND, AND CONTAINS THE REMNANTS OF ALL THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, THE SOCIAL MORES, AND THE HISTORICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF

PUERTO RICO.²³

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

LET US BEGIN WITH THIS FACT: COLUMBUS DID NOT DISCOVER AMERICA. CAN SOMETHING BE "DISCOVERED" WHICH IS ALREADY OCCUPIED BY A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF INDIAN PEOPLE WITH CULTURES ATTESTING NO SMALL DEGREE OF "CIVILIZATION?"²⁴

IF YOU EXAMINE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE "DISCOVERY" IN THE TEXT-BOOKS, MUCH IS MADE OF COLUMBUS' VOYAGE TO THE AMERICAS, AND PARTICULARLY THE ISLAND OF SAN SALVADOR. LITTLE IS SAID OF THE GENOCIDE WHICH HE AND FUTURE EXPLORERS PRACTICED AGAINST THE NATIVE INDIAN POPULATION OF THE CARIBBEAN ISLAND. THE FACTS ARE RECORDED ELSEWHERE, HOWEVER, FAR OUT OF REACH OF THE SENSITIVE, UNDEVELOPED MINDS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.²⁵

THUS AMERICA WAS "DISCOVERED," ITS INHABITANTS SUBJUGATED AND THE COLONIES SETTLED, IN THE NAME OF PROGRESS WHICH POLLUTES, OF CIVILIZATION WHICH ENSLAVES, IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM AS LONG AS THE LAW ISN'T AROUND.²⁶

NO MATTER WHICH SIDE THE INDIAN SUPPORTED, THE NEW U.S. GOVERNMENT PRESUMED TO RULE OVER THE INDIAN "NATION." THE INDIAN "NATION" SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD IN THE SAME SENSE AS A NATION-STATE LIKE FRANCE OR THE UNITED STATES. IT IS A NATION CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, LAW-MAKING AND ENFORCEMENT, AND MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, CAPABLE OF ENTERING INTO TREATIES WITH OTHER NATIONS. THIS VIEW WAS EARLY ADOPTED BY FRANCE, SPAIN, ENGLAND, AND OTHERS IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH AMERICAN INDIANS. THE QUESTION OF INDIAN NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY PERSISTED THROUGHOUT THE

POLITICAL DEALINGS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CONSTANTLY VIOLATED THIS SOVEREIGNTY.²⁷

THE UNITED STATES BEGAN EARLY TO INTIMIDATE TRIBES INTO SIGNING TREATIES WHICH CEDED VAST AREAS OF LAND. WHERE INTIMIDATION FAILED, THERE WAS ALWAYS ALCOHOL TO DEMORALIZE AND DESTROY TRIBAL POWER. AND THERE WERE EPIDEMICS, WHICH WERE NOT ALWAYS DELIBERATE, BUT WERE EQUALLY DEVASTATING, WIPING OUT ENTIRE TRIBES. BY THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AMERICAN "INDIAN POLICY" WAS INVOLVED, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED.²⁸

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON FIRST PROPOSED THE REMOVAL OF INDIANS FROM THE EASTERN STATES TO A REGION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI WHERE THEY MIGHT CONTINUE TO LIVE UNDISTURBED BY CIVILIZATION.²⁹

WHEN JACKSON WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT, THE POLICY OF INDIAN REMOVAL WAS ON ITS WAY TO BECOMING LAW. ABOUT THIS TIME THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS WAS ESTABLISHED AND WAS APPROPRIATELY ADMINISTERED BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT, WHERE IT REMAINED UNTIL 1849.³⁰

EVENTUALLY APPROXIMATELY 80 TRIBES WERE FORCED TO RESETTLE IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY. BOUNDARIES ESTABLISHED FOR ONE TRIBE WERE MOVED TO SQUEEZE IN ADDITIONAL TRIBES. "CIVILIZATION" CAUGHT UP TO THE REMOVAL LANDS ALMOST BEFORE THE TRIBES WERE RESETTLED, BUT NOT BEFORE THEY HAD LOST OVER 300 MILLION ACRES OF LAND TO SPECULATORS OF THE NEW "DEMOCRACY": ALL THE TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS WERE OUTLAWED TO PREPARE FOR OKLAHOMA STATEHOOD. THUS, THE FARCE WAS COMPLETED.³¹

CERTAINLY THE WHITE WESTWARD-MIGRATION WOULD HARDLY BE HALTED BY MEANS OF ALLIANCES WITH WHITE GROUPS. TRAILS TO THE WEST CUT ACROSS

BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS. RAILROAD COMPANIES NEEDED LAND ON WHICH TO LAY THEIR TRACKS. IT IS TRUE THAT FEDERAL LAWS EXISTED TO PROTECT THE INDIAN RIGHTS, BUT THE U.S. ARMY NEVER ENFORCED THEM; WHEN THE INDIANS TOOK UP ARMS TO DEFEND THEIR LANDS, HUNTING RIGHTS AND FAMILIES, THE ARMY DEFENDED THE WHITE SETTLER FROM THESE "SAVAGES".³²

THUS, THE CESSATION OF MILITARY GENOCIDE IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY LED TO THE APPLICATION OF MORE SUBTLE GENOCIDE TECHNIQUES—TECHNIQUES WHICH HAVE BEEN USED CONSTANTLY TO THIS PRESENT DAY.³³

DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIANS HAS BECOME MORE EXTENSIVE. EVERY ASPECT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS HAS BECOME FAIR GAME FOR THE COLONIALIST FORCES. THESE FORCES REPRESENT A CROSS-SECTION OF THE U.S. SOCIETY: THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; THE AGENCIES OF THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS; ACADEMIC AND CHRISTIAN INSTITUTES.³⁴

THE AMERICAN INDIANS, DEFEATED AND THEN UTTERLY OPPRESSED, DECREASED IN POPULATION UNTIL, IN THE FIRST YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THERE WERE ONLY 250,000 INDIANS REMAINING IN THE UNITED STATES OUT OF AN ORIGINAL POPULATION ESTIMATED AT 12 MILLION.³⁵

AGAIN AND AGAIN MUST BE REPEATED THE STATISTICS OF INDIAN POVERTY AND INDIAN GENOCIDE IN AMERICA TODAY. LIFE EXPECTANCY OF A RESERVATION INDIAN IS 43 YEARS; IT IS ONLY 33 IN ALASKA AND ARIZONA. INFANT MORTALITY IS TWICE THAT OF THE REST OF AMERICA. THEY HAVE A 50 PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL DROP OUT RATE. A STUDENT FINISHING A BIA HIGH SCHOOL (BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS) HAS THE EDUCATION EQUAL TO THAT OF THE

EIGHTH GRADE ELSEWHERE IN AMERICA. JOBS SIMPLY DO NOT EXIST ON THE RESERVATION. UNEMPLOYMENT MAY BE NORMALLY AS HIGH AS 75 PER CENT.³⁶

MOST RESERVATIONS ARE STILL SHRINKING IN SIZE AS NON-INDIANS BUY UP HEIRSHIP LANDS. THE HEIRS TO ANYONE'S LANDS ARE SENT A FORM BY THE BIA, ASKING THEM TO SIGN IT IF THEY WANT TO SELL. THE POOR ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN HEIRSHIP LANDS HAS PRODUCED AN UMANAGEABLE MONSTER IN WHICH ONE ACRE OF LAND MAY BE OWNED BY AS MANY AS 200 INDIVIDUALS, NONE OF THEM RETAINING THE RIGHT TO USE THE LAND, BUT GRANTING THE BIA AND DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR THE RIGHT TO USE THE LAND AS THEY SEE FIT.³⁷

THE ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS WITH THE FULL COOPERATION OF THE BIA HAS REPEATEDLY BUILT DAMS IN THE NAME OF RECLAMATION WHICH HAVE FLOODED VALUABLE RESERVATION LANDS.³⁸

THE DOCUMENTATION OF SOCIAL GENOCIDE DOES NOT BEGIN TO TELL THE STORY OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF TODAY'S INDIAN PEOPLE. IT DOES NOT REVEAL THE RACISM SURROUNDING INDIAN RESERVATIONS, COMMUNITIES, AND EVEN MORE SERIOUS, THE RACISM BUILT INTO THE BIA.³⁹

TRIBES WERE STRIPPED OF GREAT LAND HOLDINGS, AN EXAMPLE BEING THE SEMINOLE TRIBE. THOUGH IT MADE TREATIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE SEMINOLE TRIBE RESISTED THE "REMOVAL" POLICY AND WAS NOT DEFEATED IN ITS WARS. THUS, IT NEVER LEGALLY SIGNED OVER ITS LAND RIGHTS. THE COURT OF CLAIMS ESTIMATED THE LANDS TO BE WORTH FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS, BUT CONGRESS DECIDED TO PAY ONLY TWELVE MILLION DOLLARS. ALL CLAIMS ARE BASED ON LAND PRICES AT THE TIME THEY WERE STOLEN.⁴⁰

THE COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE EDUCATION PROGRAMS IS APPALLING.

THE VICIOUS, BRUTAL TREATMENT OF INDIAN CHILDREN IN THE NAME OF AMERICAN EDUCATION IS NOTHING LESS THAN CULTURAL, SECOND-DEGREE GENOCIDE. THE INVESTIGATION OF THE RECENT SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE HEARING ON INDIAN EDUCATION IS A SHOCKING REVELATION OF THE INADEQUATE TEACHERS AND PROGRAMS, AND OF THE OUTRIGHT ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE INDIAN PEOPLE.⁴¹

THE POLICY OF THE BIA OR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE TO SECURE FOR INDIANS THE SELF-DETERMINATION THAT WOULD BE A STEP TOWARD "ASSIMILATION" IN THE AMERICAN MAINSTREAM; THEY SHOULD INCLUDE MORE INDIANS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BIA. YET, EXCEPT FOR A NUMBER OF FIGUREHEADS AND "TOKENS" IT HAS BEEN THE POLICY TO HIRE MOSTLY WHITES. MORE MONEY IS NEEDED. A MERELY \$525 MILLION WAS ALLOCATED IN FISCAL YEAR 1970, NOT INCLUDING FUNDS FROM THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, AND THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM. THE BIA MAINTAINS A STAFF OF 50,000 NON-INDIANS. THIS STAFF "SERVES 600,000 RESERVATION INDIANS." ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE ONLY 16,000 INDIANS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE, FEW WHO ARE IN INDIAN AFFAIRS.⁴²

IF ONE CAN UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS, I AM SURE THEY WOULD AGREE, "FEW ILLUSIONS REMAIN FOR AMERICAN INDIANS." FRANK LOCKWOOD STATES:

There is the task of educating the people along the lines of resistance on their own terms. The numerous Indian newspapers do this job, as does the American Indian Traveling College in its travels throughout the continent, and the White Roots of Peace, whose message is one of the purest Indian voices to be heard. The issue is not one of power, red or other-

wise, but of nations. Those who tell us there will be a 'backlash' are jesting. They have survived one of the longest backlashes in history. They have survived the calculated genocide of some psychotic schemers. And their strength is returning slowly, but most assuredly.⁴³

V. PROGRAMS DESIGNED FOR UPWARD MOBILIZING MINORITIES: THE PLIGHT OF CAREER COUNSELING

THE TRUEST FACT IN AMERICA IS THAT EVERYBODY IS SEARCHING FOR PERSONAL UPWARD MOBILITY. THAT IS THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. A SYSTEM IN WHICH ALL CITIZENS CAN DEVELOP AS HIGH AS THEIR POTENTIALS AND ASPIRATIONS WILL ALLOW. MANY AMERICANS, HAVING LIVED UNDER NO OTHER GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE, DO NOT HAVE A FULL APPRECIATION FOR OUR CURRENT ORDER OF DEMOCRACY. THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF U.S. CITIZENS (5% TO 10%) CONTROL THE ECONOMY OF THE NATION, THEREBY CONTROLLING THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE.

IF THE ABOVE STATEMENT HAS VALIDITY, IT'S ONLY RHETORIC. MOST EURO-AMERICANS BELIEVE, "I CAN MAKE IT IF I CAN ONLY GET THE RIGHT BREAK." AND FOR THE MOST PART THERE ARE MANY EXAMPLES OF THOSE WHO GET THE RIGHT BREAK. THE FIRST AVENUE OF GETTING THE RIGHT BREAK FOR EURO-AMERICANS (CITIZENS OR NON-CITIZENS) IS MELTING INTO THE POT--THE POT OF ETHNIC ASSIMILATION. REGARDLESS OF WHAT EUROPEAN ETHNIC GROUP IS CONSIDERED, OPPRESSION WAS ONLY FOR A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME BEFORE THE PROCESS WAS COMPLETED, AFTER WHICH THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY TOOK ITS COURSE FOR UPWARD MOBILITY.

FOR MINORITIES, BLACKS IN PARTICULAR, THE PLIGHT IS DIFFERENT. THE STIGMA OF COLOR ADDS A DIFFERENT DIMENSION TO THE PROCESS OF

ASSIMILATING INTO THE MELTING POT, A FACTOR WHICH MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR DEMOCRACY TO EXERCISE THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, AS POINTED OUT IN THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS REPORT, THAT MANY LAWS HAVE BEEN PASSED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK FOR ALL.

HOWEVER, THE QUESTION REMAINS, ARE BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN AMERICA FREE, UNDER THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE LAW? THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION IS AN EMPHATIC YES! THEN WHAT IS MISSING? WHAT KEEPS BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ECONOMIC SCALE? WHY IS THE UNEMPLOYMENT OF BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES AT AN EPIDEMIC RATIO COMPARED TO WHITES? (WHITE 7%, BLACK 14%, BLACK TEENAGERS 37%)⁴⁴ THE ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS MUST BE OBSERVED IN TWO PARTS. FIRST, MOST OF THE LAWS PASSED HAVE BEEN FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT VERY FEW FOR SILVER RIGHTS,* (MONEY OR ECONOMIC RIGHTS). IT IS THE LACK OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY THAT KEEPS BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES AT LOWER STATUS LEVELS.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN HIRING TO ENHANCE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA SINCE THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, PARTICULARLY AS IT RELATED TO ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY? RESEARCH SHOWS VERY LITTLE. IN NEW YORK IN 1945, THE FIRST STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION (FEPC) WAS ESTABLISHED. IN 1948, PRESIDENT TRUMAN ISSUED EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981 DIRECTING "EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY" IN THE ARMED FORCES.⁴⁵

IN THE PAST DECADE, CIVIL RIGHTS DEMANDS HAVE BROUGHT A NEW AWARENESS OF PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATING BLACKS INTO AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

*Rev. Jessie Jackson, Washington, D.C., January 15, 1975

ALTHOUGH UNUSUAL PUBLIC INTEREST TODAY GIVES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ORIGINS OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT POLICY ARE RECENT, IT HAS HAD A LONG HISTORY.

In the 1960's, the initial thrust in equalizing employment opportunities was in Presidential executive orders. Executive orders 10925 and 11114 provided for the promotion and insurance of equal employment opportunity on government contracts. State legislatures—twenty-three in all—established state fair employment practices commissions, and, in many cases, this development was supplemented by municipal legislation. On July 1, 1965, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act became operative, banning discrimination in employment in any economic activity. In contrast to earlier periods of our history, equal employment policy in the 1960's was more pervasive, provided for greater implementation by inspection and reporting systems, and emphasized organized, systematic attempts to move minority group members into a key role in the national manpower scene.⁴⁶

THE EARLY CONCEPT OF THE "AFFIRMATIVE ACTION" WAS VAGUE AND ILL DEFINED. SINCE THAT TIME BOTH THE EEOC AND THE OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACTS COMPLIANCE (OFCC) HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO CLARIFY THE CONCEPT. IN AUGUST, 1966, EEOC PRESENTED A SERIES OF GUIDELINES FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN TESTING PROCEDURES, GIVING SOME CLARITY TO THIS AREA.⁴⁷ MUCH COULD BE SAID ABOUT THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1972. HOWEVER, THE KEY FACTOR OF ALL THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED LEGISLATION HAS BEEN THE LACK OF ENFORCEMENT, WHICH COULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS THE NUMBER ONE WEAKNESS OF THE "EQUAL OPPORTUNITY LAWS."

AS IT NOW STANDS, BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES, REGARDLESS OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING, WILL REMAIN IN DISARRAY, FRUSTRATION, DESPAIR, AND DISCORD UNTIL SOME TEETH ARE PUT INTO ENFORCING "EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

LWS." FINALLY, AND ADMITTEDLY, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE FOR A FEW IN THE MINORITY GROUPS. FOR THEM THERE IS A BETTER LIFE AHEAD, BUT FOR THE MASSES, "SORRY, ROAD CLOSED."

A. THE ROLE OF THE COUNSELOR

MANY RECOGNIZED EDUCATORS IN THE FIELD OF COUNSELING HAVE STATED PUBLICLY AND WRITTEN WIDELY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS FACING COUNSELORS OF BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS. ALTHOUGH THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEMS ARE SAID TO BE "NOT STRICTLY RACIAL,"⁴⁸ THE WRITER BELIEVES THAT IN ANY CLIENT-THERAPIST RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH THE PARTIES ARE OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS, THERE IS ALWAYS THE ELEMENT OF RACE.

MOST MEMBERS OF THE COUNSELING PROFESSION RECOGNIZE THE PLIGHT OF COUNSELORS IN TRYING TO DEVELOP APPROPRIATE COUNSELING MODELS FOR BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES. IT IS A DIFFICULT TASK.

CASE IN POINT: INTERVIEWS WITH 10 SUPERVISORS AT THE MAIN U.S. POST OFFICE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. IN 1974 REVEAL THAT MOST BLACKS WERE OVERQUALIFIED FOR THE JOBS THEY HELD. "IT'S COMMON TO FIND CARRIERS, LETTER SORTERS, AND GENERAL FOREMAN POSITIONS HELD BY INDIVIDUALS WITH BACHELOR OF SCIENCE PLUS MASTER'S DEGREES. AND EVEN MORE SHAMEFUL, THERE ARE OTHERS HOLDING LAW DEGREES DOING SIMILAR TASKS."^{*} THE POINT BEING MADE HERE IS ONE THAT COUNSELORS FIND MOST DISTRESSING. HOW DO YOU COUNSEL AND MOTIVATE A MINORITY TO RISE TO THE LOFTY HEIGHTS OF CAREER ACHIEVEMENT WHEN EVERYTHING AROUND HIM/HER DICTATES THAT IT'S NO USE? THERE ARE MANY OTHER EXAMPLES THAT DEMONSTRATE THE SAME POSTURE. HOWEVER, COUNSELORS MUST NOT BECOME FRUSTRATED WITH THEIR PLIGHT.

*Supervisor of Mail Clerks, U.S. Main Post Office, Washington, D.C., July, 1974.

ONE PRINCIPLE THAT MAY ASSIST WITH THIS DILEMMA IS REALIZING THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COUNSELOR IS TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN POTENTIAL. HOW SOCIETY USES THAT POTENTIAL IS ANOTHER QUESTION.

AMONG THE MANY FACTORS IN COUNSELING BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES ARE THE MULTIPLE TYPE PROBLEMS THEY BRING TO THE COUNSELING PROCESS. FOR EXAMPLE, CULTURE DEPRIVATION SHOULD NOT BE LABELED A RACE ISSUE. THE CHANCES OF BEING DEPRIVED OF THE BASIC QUALITIES OF THE AMERICAN DREAM ARE ENHANCED IF AN INDIVIDUAL IS A MINORITY MEMBER. WHAT MUST BE REALIZED ON THE PART OF THE COUNSELOR IS THAT CULTURALLY SO-CALLED "DISADVANTAGED" BLACK AND POOR WHITES ARE PRODUCTS OF OPPRESSION. POVERTY IS THE UNIFYING THREAD OF "CULTURAL DEPRIVATION."⁴⁹

COUNSELING FOR BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES MUST BE ACTIONORIENTED, AND SHOULD INCLUDE AN ACCOUNTABILITY PROCESS FOR ASSISTING THE OPPRESSED. SAMUEL J. TUCKER SPEAKS TO THIS PROCESS:

It is well-known that the great psychoanalytic insights of Freud and his followers were largely derived from studies of a middle-class population. Many of the theoretical models being tried by white psychologists today need to be closely scrutinized to determine whether they can be meaningfully applied to the Black populace. Even though color by itself seems of enormous consequence in this country, color has been the badge of inferiority for 300 years, and color alone has been the basis for oppressive and discriminatory social and political policy. So, all things being equal, if you are defined as Black though you may be more white than Black your condition is significantly different from that of any white immigrant or native.⁵⁰

RECOGNIZING THE ABOVE AS CONCEPTUAL THEORIES UTILIZED BY MANY COUNSELORS, TUCKER ADDS A WORD OF CAUTION. THE WHITE COUNSELOR OR PSYCHOLOGIST WHO BRINGS TO THE THERAPEUTIC ENCOUNTER HIS OWN PERSONAL BIAS AGAINST RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES WILL NOT BE ABLE TO EMPATHIZE WITH THE BLACK CLIENT. HIS RACIAL HANGUPS MAY DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY PREVENT HIM FROM USING HIS PROFESSIONAL SKILLS IN AIDING HIS BLACK CLIENTS.

PREPARING COUNSELORS FOR THE BLACK CLIENT SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS PREPARING COUNSELORS FOR ANY POPULATION. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF WIDESPREAD POVERTY AND THE HIGH VISIBILITY OF BLACK AMERICANS, SPECIAL COUNSELOR PREPARATION IS NEEDED.⁵¹

THEREFORE, THE COUNSELOR'S ABILITY TO PROVIDE POSITIVE ASSISTANCE TO BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES WHO ARE SO-CALLED "SOCIO-ECONOMICALLY DEPRIVED" DEPENDS PARTLY ON HIS SELF-CONFIDENCE, HIS FEELINGS TOWARD MINORITIES, AND HIS MASTERY OF A SET OF CONCEPTUAL SCHEMES AND ACCOMPANYING TECHNIQUES.

AN ACTION-ORIENTED APPROACH TO COUNSELING MINORITIES DIFFERS FROM THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC GOALS AND AGGRESSIVE COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE COUNSELOR BY MAXIMIZING CLIENTS' EMOTIONS, EXPECTATIONS AND HOPE. THE FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED STEPS WHICH MAY BE SUPPLEMENTED BY OTHER FORMS OF THERAPEUTIC ACTIVITIES. THE COUNSELOR SHOULD:

1. Outreach - In order to establish a relationship with most "disadvantaged" students or adults it will be necessary for the counselor to come out of his office to initiate contact with the potential counselee...

2. Level of trust - Before any counseling can take place, it will be necessary to communicate acceptance until a level of trust is established. Acceptance, involves listening with understanding by reflection or paraphrasing the counselee's expressed feelings in the counselor's own words without any indication of approval or disapproval. Warmth and liking of the counselee should be communicated through verbal expression of the counselor's feelings and through nonverbal cues of facial expression, tone of voice, and posture.
3. Problems or goals - Once a level of trust has been established, the counselor and counselee should explore some general problems or goals.
4. Long-term objectives - These are broad statements of the counselee that express future desirable outcomes that are observable and measurable.
5. Current conditions - The counselor and counselee should examine the current situation with the probability of accomplishment of each expressed long-term objective. Example: If a counselee expressed a long-term objective of becoming a medical doctor, the counselor may wish to take a look at the types of grades he is presently earning in biology and chemistry.
6. Needs - The general needs may be derived by "subtracting" the counselee's current condition from his desirable future outcome as stated in his long-term objectives.
7. Priority of needs - The needs derived from needs assessment are arranged in terms of priority. This structuring will assist the counselor and counselee to decide on which needs to work on immediately and which to defer action on to a later time.
3. Short-term objective - A short-term objective that the counselor and counselee decide to work on immediately should be agreed on. It should be one who's outcome, if achieved, will reduce or eliminate an identified priority need. It should be one in which the counselor feels fairly certain that he will have initial success in achieving the desired results.

9. Strategy for solution - From a variety of possible alternatives, the counselor decides which action would best help him achieve each short-term objective. In deciding the feasibility of his strategies, the counselor must consider all available resources so that initial success on the first short-term objective is assured.
10. Implement strategies - The counselor carries out the action or strategies he selected in the previous activity. It is necessary to have the emotional involvement of the counselee and initial success on the first short-term objective implemented. It is the initial success and emotional immersion of the disadvantaged counselee that increases hope, expectancy, and suggestibility.
11. Results - Obtain information and observations about the effect of the strategy implemented.
12. Evaluate - Compare obtained results with short-term objectives and anticipated results. This comparison can determine relative achievement of the short-term objectives.⁵²

IN CONCLUSION, DURING THE PAST TWO TO FIVE YEARS, INCREASING EMPHASIS HAS BEEN PLACED ON CAREER EDUCATION AND COUNSELING. ALTHOUGH THE CONCEPT IS POSITIVE, WE MUST TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE PROGRAM, THE ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL, THE PERFORMANCE PERSONNEL, AND THE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED BY THOSE WHO ARE PROVIDING THE OPERATIONAL EXPERTISE OF SUCH PROGRAMS. FEDERAL FUNDING IS PROVIDED FOR CAREER EDUCATION, AND LIKE OTHER FEDERALLY FUNDED PROGRAMS, A MASS OF EXPERTS TEND TO BROADEN THE BAND WAGON AND BECOME LEADERS ALMOST OVERNIGHT. CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN IMPLEMENTING CAREER EDUCATION AND COUNSELING PROGRAMS, PARTICULARLY FOR OUR YOUTH.

BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITY YOUTH NEED SPECIAL ASSISTANCE IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND COUNSELING. MANY OF THESE YOUTHS MUST BE ENCOURAGED

TO ASPIRE TO HIGHER OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS. THEY MUST BE FAMILIAR WITH VARIOUS VOCATIONAL TASKS SO AS TO ACQUIRE BASIC SKILLS FOR SPECIFIC JOBS IN BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY FOR THE MINORITY AND INTER-CITY YOUTHS TO BECOME IDENTIFIED AS PRODUCTIVE WORKERS, WHO ARE REGARDED AS THE FOUNDATION OF SUCCESS IN MANY INSTANCES. IN THE PAST, BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED MOSTLY TO UNSKILLED, SEMI-SKILLED, AND SERVICE JOBS WHICH REFLECT THEIR LIMITATIONS. ALTHOUGH NEW OPPORTUNITIES ARE BEING MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY AND OTHER ORGANIZED GROUPS, THE ASPIRATIONS OF MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS IN MANY CASES STILL LAG BEHIND THE INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES.⁵³

B. ROLE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

THE ROAD TO CAREER MOBILITY FOR BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES IS ONE OF MANY UP'S AND DOWN'S. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DESIGNING A ROAD THAT ELIMINATES SUCH OBSTACLES RESTS WITH A MULTITUDE OF ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES HAVE BEEN FACING THE REALITY OF A CHANGING SOCIETY. EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS WILL NEVER BE THE SAME AGAIN. MANAGEMENT RECOGNIZES THIS FACTOR, AND FOR THE MOST PART, IS BECOMING ADAPTABLE TO WHAT IS NOW REFERRED TO AS THE "SPACE AGE."

MOST NOTICEABLE OF ALL CHANGES DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS IS THE "PERSONNEL SYSTEM," WHERE NEW PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO UPWARD MOBILIZE BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES. THE FIRST PRIORITY

WAS THE PLACEMENT OF PEOPLE IN JOBS; SECOND WAS PROVISION OF TRAINING IN ORDER TO DO THE JOB. A RATHER EXTENSIVE AND SOPHISTICATED OUTLINE WAS DEVELOPED INDICATING SPECIFIC TASK ASSIGNMENTS, ENTRY POSITIONS, CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND COUNSELING IN A VARIETY OF AREAS. STILL FURTHER, AGENCIES ESTABLISHED COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR THEIR EMPLOYEES, PROVIDING RELEASE TIME, TUITION, AND BOOKS. FOR EMPLOYEES IN LOW GRADE POSITIONS, SKILLS ASSESSMENTS WERE MADE AND INTERNAL PLACEMENT SYSTEMS BECAME OPERABLE AND A PRIORITY WAS PLACED ON CAREER LADDERS.

HOWEVER, IT MUST BE POINTED OUT THAT THESE EFFORTS DID NOT COME BY WITH EASE. WRITING ON "CAREER MOBILITY FOR THE POOR THROUGH CAREER LADDERS: MYTH OR REALITY?" JEAN MOORE SAYS:

The opportunity to rise from poor and desperate circumstances to noble and lofty heights is a basic assumption underlying the proverbial American dream. That such opportunity fails to exist for large numbers of Americans is an enigma to the proponents of the bootstrap laissez-faire philosophy of personal advancement at will. For many people, particularly for Black and other minorities, their part of the American apple pie remains an elusive and unattainable dessert. In 1964 the United States waged a war (more accurately, a skirmish) against poverty, as a result of which was the Economic Opportunity Act.

Almost a decade later, the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows evidence that millions of Americans are still in poverty, on welfare, and that Black Americans in particular lag far behind their "brothers" in sharing the good life of employment, housing, and education.⁵⁴

MOORE ALSO STATES:

Although agencies are theoretically committed to the upward mobility of the poor, one of the most problematic points to sell has been the release of employees from jobs during the day so they can attend classes. Taking courses in the night sessions is a long and tedious process for people in their mid-thirties and older since the baccalaureate degree requires 128 credit hours of work.

Most New Career Ladders' students cannot afford to leave their jobs. In spite of the many pressures on the students, there has been a high retention rate as well as a high grade point average.⁵⁵

FINALLY, THE MAJOR IMPACT ON PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES AS A RESULT OF UPWARD MOBILITY WILL BE THE CHANGES RECOGNIZED IN PEOPLE. PHILIP R. HARRIS UNDERSCORES THIS BY SAYING:

Employees will be better educated and better informed, more affluent, and more sophisticated in their approach to both company and union relations.

Employees will have higher expectations regarding benefits and opportunities to be provided by corporations. Besides seeking material satisfaction, employees will search for the creative environment that offers maximum development of their personal potential. As the employee moves to a higher level in the hierarchy of human needs, former work incentives plans will not suffice. In fact, by the turn of the century, work may become a privilege sought not just for financial compensation but for personal development...

EMPLOYEES WILL BE MORE MOBILE--NOT ONLY WITH REGARD TO GEOGRAPHICAL RELOCATION FOR COMPANY JOBS OR VERTICAL MOVEMENT WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION, BUT FOR HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT ACROSS TRADITIONAL TRADES, FIELDS, AND OTHER DISCIPLINES. THE TYPICAL VOCATIONAL PATTERN WILL PROBABLY INCLUDE SEVERAL DISTINCT AND DIFFERENT CAREERS IN THE AVERAGE LIFE SPAN.⁵⁶

VI. CONCLUSION

A PRIME RESPONSIBILITY NOW RESTS ON THE AGENCIES TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THEIR VERBAL COMMITMENTS AND THEIR RHETORIC ABOUT OPENING UP CAREER MOBILITY. SHOULD THEY RENEGE ON THESE PROMISES BY FINDING EXCESSES AND SUBTERFUGES IN ORDER TO PREVENT EMPLOYEES FROM SECURING TIME OFF TO ATTEND SCHOOL, FROM MOVING TO BETTER JOBS, ONE WILL PROBABLY BE FORCED TO CONCLUDE THAT THERE IS IN FACT A NEED TO KEEP THE POOR, POOR; TO KEEP BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES THE HANDMAIDENS; TO ALLOW THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES TO MAINTAIN SUPERIORITY, AND TO FEED EGOS OF PROFESSIONALS WHO FEAR NOT ONLY THEIR JOBS, BUT MORE BASICALLY, THEIR SECURITY.

THE ONLY VIABLE RESPONSE TO DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IS TO TRULY PLACE IT AS A TOP PRIORITY. IN THIS SOCIETY, WORK IS A PRIMARY DIMENSION OF THAT PROBLEM. UNTIL, AND UNLESS, THE WORK ETHIC CHANGES, ONLY USEFUL WORK, THROUGH THE OPPORTUNITY FOR TRAINING, EDUCATION, AND THE PROVISION OF OPEN-ENDED CAREERS, NOT DEAD-END JOBS, WILL ENABLE ALL PEOPLE TO TAKE PART IN SLICING THE AMERICAN PIE.⁵⁷

AND FINALLY, THE DECADE OF THE 1960'S MAY INDEED BECOME THE MOST IMPORTANT IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BLACKS IN AMERICA IF

FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN THE REMARKABLE EFFORTS PUT FORTH BY GROUPS IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS OF THE NATION TO MOVE THE COUNTRY TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF NONDISCRIMINATION AS A CONSTITUTIONAL AND MORAL RIGHT OF BLACKS AND OTHER MINORITIES. THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE ON A BROAD FRONT: PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, VOTING, PUBLIC EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND EMPLOYMENT. ALTHOUGH THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT ON HOW MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, IT IS GENERALLY CONCEDED THAT LEGAL AND SOCIAL AIDS TO EQUALIZING OPPORTUNITY HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING AT A RAPID RATE.

FOOTNOTES

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